776
463
484
[418]
[439]

"And [they brought] vases, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cacao, and cuppers for jars.

When they entered lands with which they were at war, and were among people who were far distant, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,[104] [that they might] mimic the natives.

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[105] [But if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moteuczoma.

This one then gave him a gift, and decked him with his amber lip-plug. He did him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, thus making him a man of consequence.

And when those who returned arrived home, when they had come back, when they had reached and had entrance in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

It was called "the washing of the feet."[106] They paid great honor to the cane, to the walking staff, of Yiacatecutli.

In the tribal temple[107] they set it upright. They offered it an offering first, when they laid a feast. And when they summoned people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when they ate.

And when they ceremonially bathed and slew a man as a sacrifice,[108] in whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yiacatecutli; or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chiconquiauitl, or Chalmecatecutl, Acxomocutl, and Nacxitl, Cochimetl, Yaxpitzactec.[109] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

They bought them there at the slave market at Atzcapotzalco; they served and arranged them, turning them around many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best ones, in good health, sick in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

Such as these they slew on the feast-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

Thereupon they garbed them in trappings like those of Yiacatecutli, which were assigned to them.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They save them up [like

Auh in tecuanol, in petecuanol, in ximocti, in aquaujtl, [418]
yn atzacuiaol: [439]

intlacol inxitilon, in tzacuj, in tzacutica, inylan onmonj, [292]
vel calaquj, motlecacuepa in nechichiualiztica, in nexiuitica,
in tlacatica quiualmachalhuja in chanopa.

Auh intla otlanepanotiloque, intla oitzoque: vncan [263]
quiquixoxiqui, quiquihuitotlia: ça ace, aço ce, aço vme ye
oc ni tenatitlanpa quiça, inhuol quiualmotzaia in [266]
motecuçoma:

ic vncan quimaca, caquilia, yapoçmalmomoch, yc [431]
quimaviztiaia, ic quimecaiotia, in tlincauh, vncan ic [301]
aquichtia. [504]

Auh yn iquac calaxia, yuchac: va inilloch, yuancuepa
aquichtihuqui, yn otlatlachaco, yn otlatlachpachihuque:
iaquich tlacatl quimota, in pachtoca: yuan in tlacoque, ic
momiztitiaia:

mjtoa, nacxipoua, cenca quimaviztiliaia yn iuipil, yn [776]
jtlacopia yiacatecutli:

auia in calpulco quiquetzaia: achto quiclatzaqujia, yn [796]
iquac tetlaqualtia: yuan intlaca nel motecuaoaoca,
quiclauaqujia in çan muchipa yn jtlaqualo. [778]

Auh intla aca tealtia, inhuol caltitia, quimoaia in jtzmah
yiacatecutli: aoqo cenca inhoantia yn mochoaia, in
quimotecutiaia in chiconquiauitl, aoqo chalmecatecutl,
yuan acxomocujl, yuan nacxitl, cochimetl, iacapitzactec, alac
quimotoja, yiollotlama, yn aço ce, aoqo vme, ca altia tlacatl:

vmpa cuecuexia yn tlacuecuepoca axcapotzalco: motlah- [776]
tlatilia, motlapapatilia, quimotecuepa, quimjhitza, yn [796]
qualtin quimiccaoepa, yn acan quemanjqui, in tlacatoti, in
tlacamolacopa, yn acan cuecuepa, yn atle intlacuh ca: [567]

yn ic inhuan quimictiaque, yn ipan panquetzaliztli: yn
vncan illuiquiztililoia vitzilobuchtli:

yquac quichichioia, quintlamamaca, intoch quintalia yn
iuhquj yeochiuhtoal yiacatecutli.

Auh yn oiuuo quimonjcia, achtopa quimotitiaia: mjtoa
quimonamia, ic quimomachtia in tetiuaque:

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104. Cf. Tezozomoc (op. cit., p. 77): Yiacatecuhtzin "acompañando siempre a estos mercaderes, que iban siempre á hablidad, para saber particularmente, á cuantos, y en cuales, y cuyos (que es propio oficio de Mercaderes) . . . ."

105. Cf. Ixtlilxochitl (Obras Históricas, Kingsborough, p. 337) citing Mist. Rerum. Colh. Mex. B. II (MS.).

106. Book IX of the Historia general deals almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled De los ceremonias que se hacian a los mercaderes cuando llegaban a su casa, que se llama lavatorio de pies, translates washing utensils and hands.

107. Sahagún defines calpulli as "iglesia del barrio, ó parroquia" (Spanish version).

108. Sahagún defines the substitution in this manner: "Estos decian que mentaban a estos esclavos"—Historia general, Vol. I, p. 213.

109. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecutli. Ixtlil (Collected Works, Vol. II, pp. 4, p. 90) recognizes Cochimetl and Yaxpitzactec as synonyms for Yiacatecutli. "Chiconquiauitl or Chalmecatecutl is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"). Acxomocutl is Tezcatlipoca; Nacxitl is Quetzalcoatl.

And when they were beheaded, they cast and threw them[f] toward [the figure of] Uitzilopochtli.

And the quail, when their necks were wrung, went fluttering away, thrashing and striking the earth.

And the masters of the youths took them and gathered them up, stripped off the feathers, and roasted and salted them, seasoning them with salt.

Some they laid aside for Moctezuma, and the rest they assigned to his chiefs, only to the princes. And also to the masters of the youths, who marched in front, and also those [who were] priests.

And all took their large braziers—not their polished braziers. In them were coals and shavings of wood. They heaped it up, raised it, and made a hearth, and fired it with pine branches. And it burned exceedingly.

And they took white incense and coarse incense.[16] And when it was the proper time to offer incense, they laid coals in the incense burner and on it cast the white incense, and raised it as an offering to Uitzilopochtli.

Thus they offered him fire, they incensed him, not only here in the great temple but in their houses, and the tribal temples. Incense was offered all the gods whom they acknowledged.

And after they had dedicated the fire [and incense to the gods], then they cast the coals into the hearth [in the courtyard].

And the young women had painted their faces and were arrayed in red feathers.

And they fastened their sacrificial paper banners to canes. [The banners] were painted in black in what was called a scroll design.

And the rich [women and girls had] narrow cotton blankets thus fastened [to canes], likewise similarly painted with a scroll design.

And two masters of youths, with black paint spread on their faces, stood above and before the round fire vessel. Occupying the leading position, they carried on their backs pine wood cages with small paper banners; they carried them with tump lines which passed only across the chest.

They caused the women to begin the dance; they danced leaping, dancing in the fashion of women. And the women were in the middle, holding their sacrificial banners in both hands. They danced and

Auh yn iquac tlacotonalo, yuic contlaça yuic conmaiauj, in Vitzilopochtli.

Auh in çaçaltí in oquechcotonaloque, tlapapatlaztiocmj papatlacatinemj, tlalli ic motzujtequj, tlalli ic momomotla:

796[X]

´auh in teachcauan quinpepena, quinnechicoa, quinvihtlada, quintlecuiza, quinmixtaiouja, quinmixtaioquauhcuexa:

[252 263]

cequj quintonaltia yn Motecuçoma, auh yn oc cequj quintonaltiaia yn ixchichcauan, çanioque in pipilti. Auh no ichoantin in teachcauan, tlaiacatique: no ichoan in tlamacaque,

yuan muchi tlacatl quinquja yapâtlecan, anno iehuatl in petzticaxitl, vncan ietiuh tlenochtli, yuan tlaxipeualli, contepeuhtitlalia, contlecauja, contlecuitia, ocatica contlemjna, vncan tlâtlâtla.

[374]

Yuan quinquja iztac copalli: yuâ quauhiocopalli: auh yn iquac yn icinnaan, in ie tlenamaco, in tlenochtli quiualtema, tlemâco, ipan contepeua yn iztac copalli, ic conjauhja yn Vitzilopochtli:

ic quintotonjlia, ic quinpopochuja, anno çanyio vncan in vey teupâ, çan no yuan intechachan, intecacalpulco, popochujlo in iequichtin in teteoan inpan quinmatia.

Auh yn ocnimâuhque tletl njmâ ic ic contema tlexicco:

796[X] 535

auh in cioa ichpopochtí, motzonia, mopotonjaia tlapaliujtica:

[302 237]

yuan itatleuh acatica quiquappachoa, tlilitica tlacuilolli, motecaciotia acanilquj:

[302 289]

auh in motlacamati, canaoc ynic quiquappachoa: çan no acanilquj ynic tlacuilolli:

Auh vmentin in tiachcauh mixtlilpeponque, haco manj, tlexictli ixpan, quiiacatiximanj ococalli in quimama, amapopoiocatzonj, çan quelpanmama.

[302]

[417]

quipopoualilia yn cioa in nenetiltiti, ynic mjeoia chachalaca, çan mocioiotimia: auh in cioa çan tlatic in manj, yn jaxcuh contzonmaia, quiocuitonmanj,

796[X] 535

16. Thus identified in Seler, op. cit., p. 105.

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and its fellow Cuitlatec of the west, but we have seen that "eran de Moteçuma," being, indeed, a link with the uttermost western hinterland, the provice of Çihuatlan.

Tlacotepec warred with southern neighbors on the coast,[a] among them Tecpan—this latter, presumably, ceasing to be an enemy when it was subjugated to form part of the province of Çihuatlan.

Zompanco and Chilapan were strong-points on the Yope frontier.[b]

Just south of Chilapa lies Quecholtenanco, a garrison town whose glyph is in both the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* (fol. 17r) accompanied by the head of one "Mixcoatl, tlacatectli governador."

Regional names.—The whole eastern part of this former province was known as Coixcatlalpan,[c] "que quiere decir Tierra de Lagartijas porque ay muchas."[d]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The original *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* copy specify the following tribute:

CLOTHING

402 bundles[e] of mantles *colchadas*[**]
402 bundles of mantles striped black and white[**]
400 bundles of rich mantles (the drawing is of a Tlaloc-head decoration)[**]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses[**]
400 bundles of little white mantles[**]
1,600 bundles of large mantles[**]
22 warriors' costumes (20 of the common "Huaxteca" armor and 2 special pieces: one Tiger Knight and one with *quetzalpatzactli* headdress)[*]

FOOD

4 *troxes* (wooden cribs), 1 each of maize, beans, *huauhtli*, and *chian*[*]
200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

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[a] *PNE*, 6: 124: "trayan guerra con los de la costa, que era los pueblos de Tequepa, Acamalutla, Temazcaltepec y otros pueblos." Tequepa (*PNE*, 1: No. 904) "parte terminos con Nuzco," hence is the present Tecpan.

[b] *PNE*, 6: 318 and 5: 178. On the Yope, see Ortega, "Extensión y límites de la Provincia de los Yopes ...," *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 48–53.

[c] *PNE*, 5: 249.

[d] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.

[e] The figures for this and the following item are corrected from the erroneous 400 of the *Mendocino* annotation.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

191 101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The aborigines of the west of this province spoke "Chontal de Guerrero," a language which is commemorated in the place name Chontalcoatlan.[a] This little-known tongue is distinguished from Mexican, Matlatzinca, Mazatec, and Tarascan, all of which were spoken in the province,[b] and was still current in the late sixteenth century in Coatepec, Chontalcoatlan, and Teticpac,[c] as well as in towns of the adjacent province to the south.

131 635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Tlachco Province was a part of the Tarascan frontier. To its south lay the hot-country province of Tepequacuilco, and to its north, Ocuilan, both of these also western frontiers. On the east was opulent Quauhnahuac.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—It is clear from the *Matricula* that the rich silver mines of later fame were ignored by the Culhua Mexica. Tlachco was a second-rate province, as we see by the list of goods remitted:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles, richly worked[d]
[248] 400 bundles of women's clothing[d]
[214] 1,206 bundles[e] of little mantles of soft henequen[d]
2 warriors' costumes (a *Huaxteca* and a *quetzaltzitzimitl*)[d]

FOOD

[263] 2 wooden cribs, one of maize, the other of chian[d]
263 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

OTHER GOODS (quarterly)

[323] 1,200 yellow pottery bowls
319 400 little baskets of copal for incense-burners
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Tlachco itself is the only town for which itemized tribute data are available. It remitted men's cotton mantles (measurements are given) and women's skirts and blouses,

[a] "Son los antiguos de la tierra" (*PNE*, 6: 143).
[b] *PNE*, 6: 265; *GPM*, p. 135.
[c] *PNE*, 6: 100, 118; *GPM*, p. 127.
[d] Converted from 1,200.

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but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner, who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,[a] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State.[b]

Provincial borders in 1519.—In the final native period the province of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen[c]
400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells[c]
400 bundles of little cotton mantles[c]
21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)[d]

FOOD

4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian[d]
2,000 vessels of white salt[c]

Tribute of the component towns.—Temazcaltepec alone gave military help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teonacatl*), kindling, and ink made from soot—all this "every time they were asked."[e] No data are available on the tribute of other component towns individually.

[a] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuiltecs," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 297–328.

[b] In Tlachinoltepec, *FNE*, 3: 130.

[c] *FNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavasale cada vez que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de nequen, que se haze de un arbol que se llama maguei, y davan ungos con que senbo-

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Provincial borders in 1519.—To the north lay the republic of Metztitlan, whose soldiers fought with Yzmiquilpan. To the east was Hueypuchtla, to the south Atotonilco, and to the west Xilotepec—all Empire provinces.

Regional names.—Many of the towns of the province of Axocopan lay in a region called the Teotlalpan.[a] This term is defined as "tierra de los dioses." The Teotlalpan is a term used far into the sixteenth century, by Alonso de Santa Cruz in his *Geography*, and by others. It does not seem to have been coterminous with the province of Axocopan in the north: Yzmiquilpan is nowhere stated to be inside the Teotlalpan, for example. But documentation is scarce.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Axocopan and the other subjects of this province was as follows:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of little white mantles**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
42 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD**

4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
400 large jars of thick maguey honey

Tribute of the component towns.—Some indication of the way in which this burden was divided among the tributaries appears below.

Atenco is grouped with Mizquiyahuala (*q.v.*).

Axocopan gave shields and spears, henequen mantles, and made nine special milpas for its overlords.[b]

Mizquiyahuala, together with Atenco, paid one turkey every twenty days, as well as henequen mantles: "... estavan sujetos al p[uebl]o de

[a] Axocopan, *PNE*, 6: 14; Mizquiyahuala, *PNE*, 1: No. 347; Tecpatepec, *PNE*, 6: 34; Tencatepec, *PNE*, 6: 32 and 1: No. 546; Tlaxhuelilpa, on the other hand, "está ya cesi fuera de la comarca que dizen de la Teotlalpan" (*PNE*, 3: 73).

[b] *PNE*, 6: 14 and *passim*.

[c] To the ruler in México, "dassale de tributo: rrodelas de nequen [*sic*] y varillas tostadas, mantas de nequen de diferentes laberes; hazinale nueve semesteras de mahiz" (*PNE*, 6: 15).

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635 ***Regional names.***—The cabacera of Hueypuchtla lay within the region known as the Teotlalpan,[87] as did Tequixquiac[88] and the Tezcatepec we have identified as the pre-Hispanic Tezcatepectonco.[89]

TRIBUTE

651 ***Tribute of the whole province.***—Hueypuchtla and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

CLOTHING

[291 400 little decorated mantles**
714] 400 henequen mantles with black-and-white border**
800 white henequen mantles**
62 warriors' costumes, with shields*

FOOD*

[262 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
263] 400 jars of thick maguey honey

651 ***Tribute of the component towns.***—Some of the elements of the
632 tribute listed above may be traced in the relaciones of the sixteenth century.

[284] Hueypuchtla gave game and mantles and weapons, as well as making a special milpa for purposes of tribute. Nets are also mentioned—an unusual item.[90]

Tezcatepec[tonco] provided weapons and game.[91]

[231] Tolnacuchtla gave tribute of game, among which figured live eagles.[92]

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[87] *PNE*, 3: 48, 6: 26. See discussion of regional names, Axocopan (p. 47) for a definition.

[88] *PNE*, 3: 51.

[89] *PNE*, 6: 32.

[90] *PNE*, 6: 28: "rreconoçian a ... Moctezuma y a sus antecesores, dauanle por tributo, venados, conejos, rredes y vnas mantillas de nequen que son como anjeo de Castilla, y codornyces y cutalas, arcos y flechas, y le hazian vnas sementeras, mahiz, frisoles, calabaças y otras semyllas menudas de esta tierra."

[91] *PNE*, 6: 32: "davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

[92] Live eagles were depicted in the *Matrícula* from two other provinces of the north: Oxitipan and Xilotepec. *PNE*, 6: 25: "davanle de tributo aguilas, codornyces, venados, liebres y conejos."

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—According to the Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map, Tlalcoçauhtitlan embraced a diversity of languages. Apart from the predominant Náhuatl, areas of Tlapanec, Matlame, and the unclassified Tuxteca are noted. The province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan was brought into the Empire by Nezahualcoyotl, who placed a governor over it.[**]

Provincial borders in 1519.—West of Tlalcoçauhtitlan lay the province of Tepequacuilco; east of it Quiauhteopan, and to the north Quauhnahuac and Huaxtepec. These were Empire provinces. On the south, however, it gave on obscure and bellicose Yopitzinco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The yellow earth which gave its name to the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan naturally figured in its tribute, which was as follows:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of large mantles[**]
1 warrior's costume with shield[*]

FOOD

100 pots of bee honey[**]

OTHER GOODS

20 dishes of *tecoçahuitl*, "ques un barnyz amarillo con que se enbixavan"[**]

[*] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 198: Nezahualcoyotl "... fué sobre la [próvincia] de Tlauhcocauhtitlan y la ganó, en donde puso por su mayordomo á Huitzilteeuh, en donde se le daban de tributo y reconocimiento en cada un año diez y seis bateas de color y veinte cargas de copal, doscientas sesenta y ocho jícaras y tecomates finos, y veinte cargas de varas de tlacuilol quahuitle." The last item is clarified by Sahagún (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 222): "Hay unos árboles silvestres que se llaman tacuiloquauitl, que quiere decir que tiene madera pintada, porque ellos son bermejos, y tienen las vetas negras que parecen pinturas sobre el bermejo; es árbol muy preciado, porque de él se hacen teponaztles, tamboriles y vihuelas, y suenan mucho estos instrumentos cuando son de esta madera; y por ser muy pintada y de buen parecer es muy preciada."

[**] Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 325) includes among the tribute from the Huaxteca "betun amarillo que llaman Tecuezalin y tecozahuitl con que untan y tiñen jicaras, y ablandan manos y piés."

Editorial note (C. O. Sauer): This Náhua word may possibly also signify the yellowish lacquer base, prepared from Coccus insects. The intermediate slopes between the volcanic highlands and the Balsas lowland were and are the chief source of this substance, prized in the aboriginal crafts of central and southern Mexico.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map indicates great linguistic complexity for this province: Náhuatl, Mixtec, Tlapanec, and Matlame.

Olinalan, celebrated for its lacquer-work, probably carried on that activity in pre-Hispanic times. From adjacent Tlalcoçauhtitlan Province, perhaps only a few kilometers away, "bateas" went as tribute to Texcoco.[a]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Because half the towns of the province cannot be identified on the maps of unexplored Guerrero, the north of this province is a great blank. It bordered, probably, on Huaxtepec Province in that direction, as on the west with Tlalcoçauhtitlan, on the east with Yoaltepec, and on the south with Tlapan, all of them fellow tributaries.

Regional names.—Somewhere in the dubious northeast began the region known as Totollan.[b]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Quiauhteopan was a rich mining region, as is shown by the following list of its tribute to the highlands:

CLOTHING

400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 jars of bee honey*

OTHER GOODS

40 large copper bells**
80 copper axeheads**
1 dish of little turquoises*

Tribute of the component towns.—Olinalan, in the mid-sixteenth century, rendered a sizable quarterly tribute of base gold, cacao, money resulting from the sale of cacao, and sixty little jars of honey (over

[a] See the section on Tlalcoçauhtitlan, above.

[b] *PNE*, 5: 57: "Piaztla ... está en la provincia de los Totoltecas de lengua mexicana diferente de los de la Misteca sujetos a la doctrina de la cabecera de Acatlan." Of the same town, it is said farther on (5: 77): "En este pueblo se habla la lengua mexicana corrupta, porque es de la provincia de Totola."

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635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—North of Yoaltepec Province lay the
131 Empire province of Tepeacac, and to the east that of Tlachquiauco, but to the south were other Mixtec peoples never subjugated by the Triple Alliance: Tototepec of Oaxaca and her allies. Ayoxochiquilazala was an outpost against these. To the west Tlapan and Quiauhteopan were Empire territory again.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute rendered by Yoaltepec was small but choice; it included gold and turquoises. It is listed as follows:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

[263] 40 jars of honey**

OTHER TRIBUTE

[316 533] 40 little gold disks, "the size of a Host" and as thick as one's finger*[a]
10 middle-sized turquoise masks (mosaic)*[b]

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acatlan gave military supplies
651 and food to the Imperial armies which passed through it and from time to time sent gifts of mantles and rabbitskins to its overlord in Mexico, as well as providing personal services. Certain gifts were received in return.[c]

[712] Ayoxochiquilazala, though a garrison town giving military service, also paid tribute of gold dust.[d]

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[a] Cooper Clark, in his edition of the *Códice Mendocino* (1: 75), remarks that "it is reasonable to suppose that these gold disks . . . measured about three inches in diameter."

[b] The *Mendocino* commentary considers the turquoise symbol appearing with the masks to represent a separate tribute of turquoises, but this conclusion does not seem justified.

[c] As in Ocelotepec, in the province of Coyolapan, *q.v.*, *PNE*, 5: 58, says that Acatlan "solamente ... daua ... a la jente de guerra que por el pasaba" food and arms from an arsenal there, and " ... enbiauan de quando en quando vn presente al Rey de Mexico, de mantas y pellejos de liebres y de conejos." In the same source are mentioned the services rendered by various lords and their wives in the Imperial court, in eighty-day shifts.

[d] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 147–148: "acudian con el tributo á montecçuma y le davan oro en polvo y no le acudian con otra cosa porque en este dicho pueblo tenia montecçuma jente de guarniçion apercebida para las guerras y esta gente mexicana comian y gastavan las gallinas venados conejos y maiz que eran obligados á dar á montecçuma."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Piaztla gave salt and wax annually, and aided the Imperial troops passing through the town by supplying them with war clubs, shields, arrows, and food.[a]

Tecomaixtlahuacan was under the rein lightly. It had its own lord and none other, we are told in the sixteenth-century relación, but it chose none the less to send Moctezuma gifts now and again, and tribute is the criterion of the present map.[b]

Ycpatepec acquired certain articles by trade with peoples thirty leagues away and then delivered them to the Mexican tax collectors in Teutla (or Tentla). These articles were green feathers, gold, and chalchiuites.[c]

Yxicayan gave a combination of dwarf peppers and mantles "and nothing else."[d]

33. Tlapan

Sources of the Map

The province of Tlapan contained fourteen towns, according to the glyphs of the *Matricula* (p. 17) and the *Mendocino* (fol. 39'). In the *Matricula* only "Tlauhpā" is identified in a later hand; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. Tlapan Province lay in the eastern extreme of modern Guerrero. Of its fourteen towns, seven have been located on the modern map. The following correspondence between ancient and modern place names has been established, the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having served as base.

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[a] *PNE*, 5: 78: Piaztla was " ... sujeto al Real Imperio de Mexico y ... en su sujecion llebauan cada año cantidad de sal y sera, de que daban a los Exercitos de Mexico espadas de pedernal, rodelas y flechas y comida quando pasaban por su pueblo a la conquista de lexos [*sic*] provincias, y no le davan en señal de sujecion otro tributo alguno."

[b] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 137: "algunas veses contribuyan con algunos presentes de piedras etc. desque llaman chalchihuites á montecuma." The codex of this town (published by Schmieder) claims that the people of the town "nunca ... tributaron ni contribuyeron en cosa alguna para los dichos tributos de Mexico, y de todos eran libres y exentos" (Schmieder, *The Settlements of the Tzapotec and Mije Indians* [1930], p. 79).

[c] *PNE*, 4: 161: "solian ser en tiempo de su xentilidad suxetos a Munteçuma ... le davan de tributo cada tantos meses plumas verdes y oro en polvo y algunas piedras verdes de poco momento: estas cosas iban a rrescatar a otras partes fuera deste dicho pueblo, mas de treynta leguas, lo qual entregaban a los capitanes de Munteçuma que tenia puestos para el dicho efeto en Tentla" (or Teutla).

[d] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 152: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma al cual acudian con mantas y agi y no con otra cosa."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 Tlapan in the mid-sixteenth century gave 62 pesos, 3 tomines of
632 gold quarterly, 3 loads of honey, 5 pots, and 3 loads of wax in pellets.[71]
[316 263 293] Tototepec, likewise about a generation after the Conquest, gave 50
measures of gold dust and certain articles of clothing quarterly, and
[146] daily gave the services of seven Indians, and a chicken to the Calpixque.[72] A

34. Tlachquiauco

Sources of the Map

635 The province of Tlachquiauco was not large. It contained three
114 principal towns, according to folio 45' of the *Mendocino Codex*, the folio copied from the recto side of a lost leaf (page "22A") which followed Coyolapan and preceded Xoconochco in the original manuscript. Of the three towns of Tlachquiauco Province, one has not
[28] been located, but the other two (lying in northwestern Oaxaca) have been identified as follows on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México":

[103]

Mendocino	Millionth Map
Achiotlan, 4	S. Miguel Achiutla
Tlachquiauco, 3	Tlaxiaco

The town which has eluded identification is Çapotlan.
Mixtepec (2) and Tlacotepec (1) are added from other sources.

Remarks on Towns

632 *Mixtepec* was subject to Tlachquiauco in the days when the latter still held out against the Mexica, and presumably fell with it.[73]

Tlacotepec appears in some of the younger Moctezuma's conquests jointly with Ycpatepec (in the province of Yoaltepec).

Tlachquiauco is a name which has suffered considerable corruption, but there is no novelty in the identification of the town.

Çapotlan appears vaguely linked with Etla and Macuilxochic in one source.[74]

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[71] *PNE*, 1: No. 725: "dan cada ochenta dias sesenta y dos pesos y tres tomines de oro en poluo y tres cargas de miel y çinco xarros y tres cargas de çera en pellas." The statement also includes similar data from near-by towns.

[72] *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias çinquenta pesos de oro en poluo y çinco naguas y ocho mantillas, y cinco mantas grandes; mas dan siete yndias de seruicio cada dia y una gallina al Calpixque."

[73] *PNE*, 4: 142: "el caçique de tlaxiaco que era a quien estos de mistepeque reconocian por señor tenia guerra con montecuma."

[74] *ENE*, 16: 68.

A [i.e. A civil functionary in whose care the public stores were entrusted — Analyst]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

721 ever, that they had wished to kill us on the previous night? and why should they turn traitors against us, when all we had said or done was to warn them against certain things of which we had already warned all the towns that we had passed through, namely, that they should not be wicked and sacrifice human beings, nor worship Idols, nor eat the flesh of their neighbours, nor commit unnatural crimes, but that they should live good lives; and to tell them about matters concerning our holy faith, and this without compulsion of any kind. To what purpose then had they quite recently prepared many long and strong poles with collars and cords and placed them in a house near to the Great Temple, and why for the last three days had they been building barricades and digging holes in the streets and raising breastworks on the roofs of the houses, and why had they removed their children and wives and property from the city? Their ill will however had been plainly shown, and they had not been able to hide their treason. They had not even given us food to eat, and as a mockery had brought us firewood and water, and said that there was no maize. He knew well that in the barrancas near by, there were many companies of warriors and many other men ready for war who had joined the companies that night, laying in wait for us, ready to carry out their treacherous plans, thinking that we should pass along that road towards Mexico. So in return for our having come to treat them like brothers and to tell them what Our Lord God and the King have ordained, they wished to kill us and eat our flesh, and had already prepared the pots with salt and peppers and tomatoes. If this was what they wanted it would have been better for them to make war on us in the open field like good and valiant warriors, as did their neighbours the Tlaxcalans. He knew for certain all that had been planned in the city and that they had even promised to their Idol, the patron of warfare, that twenty of

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574 as] the vessels to carry, keep, and transport the leavings.[4]

851 Then, for a short time, all sat relaxed, watching; all sat content in the place of lingering, in the banqueting place. But if some were not well satisfied, nor happy, nor content, with the chocolate, the food, the flowers, and the tobacco, etc., they only ran away angry. They quickly arose and sprang to their feet, leaped up, glared in rage at the drink and food, and went about chattering, babbling, jabbering, multiplying it and shouting, doing it in crescendo.[5] Thus oppressed and troubled, they went to seat themselves at their homes and in their houses. And those who had left in such a manner, those who had only become enraged, if they were noted, later, next day, once more they received them[6] and brought them in, consoled them, when it was the time of finishing the food.[7] In their behalf it was celebrated; they were consoled and made joyous.

vncá achitzinca ompaccatoc, nepiclotoc, veillamachotoc in nepiclolian, in tecuanotzalolian: auh in cequjn in amo cenca tlavelmati, vellamati, movelmati, yn stica, tlaqualtica, xochitica, yietica et.[8] çan motlavellaloa, moquetzteoa, moquetztiquiça, cholotoua, maçoma, motlaqualçoma, tlâtlatoxivj, popolocativj, tlatetoiuj, tlâtlanauhtiuj, tlanauhtiuj, tlanauhpacjuj, ic oallatepachoticate, moxixicoticate, yn omotlalito inchâ, yn jncalitic: auh intla ciitoque in iuh oquizque, in çan oqualantiaque, quin inuztlaioc oc ceppa qujnana, qujmonjcxiana, qujniolcruja, in iquac ie apcoalco, inca nechioalo, iollaliio, papaquiltilo,

[262] And the women only drank a gruel, perhaps a gruel of wrinkled *chia* cooked with maize, or a drink of pinole mixed with *chia*,[9] which they drank.

●[263] They gave them [gruel] topped with honey, or with chilis, yellow chilis, small hot ones, or hot green ones, or with squash seeds on it.

auh in cihoa çan tlayia, aço chiantzotzolstolli, anoço chianpinolli in quia, in qujnmaca, necpanj, anoço chilpanj, chilcocpanj, chiltecpimpanj, chilchopanj, aiooxchpanj,

574 273 851 And when it grew dark, the old men and women drank wine. They gathered around and congregated. They set up before them that from which they drank, called the flower vessel, and their drinking bowls and wine cups, the serving vessels.[9]

auh yn oiouc in vevetque, yn ilamatque, tlatlaoana, mohololoa, tocecentlalia, ymjxpan quioalquetza yn intlaoanaia, yn jtoca xochcomitl, yoâ yn intlaoancax, in jntetlaoâ, in tetlamamaconj,

[559] The wine server, the server, first began: so he went to the one of highest rank, the first in rank, the one in first place. So he went in order, going in line, and so were left those of lesser rank, of inferior station, in last place. He continued serving the wine, perhaps white, or watered, or honeyed;[10] those which were stored and prepared for the drinking ceremony. It was carried there in jars for dregs, in wine jars and dipping vessels.

achto iê vmpeoa in tetlatoanti, in tetlamamacac, nimâ ie ic iauh yn jiacac, in tlaiscac, yn jiacaiocâ, ic tevipâtiuh, tecompilotiuh, ic ommocaoa in icuitlapilco, in tlacuitlapilco, in tlatzaccan, quioaltecatimanj in vetli, aço iztavetli, anoço aivetli, tlachioalvetli, yn otlaliloc ochichioaloc ic pillaoanoc, ontlaçaco inxaiocomjc, inoccomjc, intlatemovilcomjc,

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4. Interpretation is provisional. For this, Sahagún, in the corresponding text, writes: *"y las cobras del cacao, donde a sus criados."* See n. 2.

5. The verb is apparently incompletely corrected to read *chocoyocoticate*; cf. *Real Palacio MS.*

6. Or *ceppa quinmonana in ibid.*

7. Corresponding Spanish text: *"a otro día bienmano. Aperciben: para que en el, se acabase todo el combite."* Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, "The Gods," p. 23, and Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 321. In *ibid.*, I, 21, 24, it is referred to as *"olladicero a lo que vendo comidas y bebidas."*

8. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," p. 39; Book II, "The Ceremonies," p. 91 (*chiapanecalli*).

9. In the *Real Palacio MS.*, *yn tlacuiloni, ỹ notlamatcaconi* follows *onkmomanaco*.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: *"hechizo de agua, y vasi cenado, con la vasija: el qual llaman apazolli, que quiere decir, pulcro de agua. La qual vasija aparejada, y guardada el señor del combite. La alcanzan dize assi."* See also Cervantes Gonçalves de Lima: *El maguey y el pulque en los códices mexicanos* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1972), *passim*, and esp. pp. 107 ff.